THE

# "HINDU MESSAGE"

A Weekly Review of Indian and World-Problems from the Hindu Standpoint.

Editors: K. Sundararama Aiyar M.A., & T. K. Balasubrahmanya Aiyar B.A.

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) The Maintenance of British supremacy with self-government for India,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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## A Vision Of India.

### TAMRAPARNI—II.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

From there thy waters flow through rocky bed
Now flowing northwards and now flowing east,
And bring to waiting men the golden feast
By which the frame and soul alike are fed.
I feel thy waters flowing overhead
Like words of blessing from a holy priest
And as I rise I feel that from the heart
In Man I rise and reach true angelhead
And standing on the bridge in this sweet town
Where sceptred bright with love and crowned by art
My soul the universe with joy did greet,
I feel how petty are the joy and frown
Of life, unless like thine shall be our part—
So fair yet pure, so restful yet so fleet.

The Hindu Message

THURSDAY EVENING 7, NOV., 1918.

## Progressive Mysore.

Mysore offers a model of what India will be when its administration is entrusted to Indian hands. Sir M. Visvesvarayya is the worthy successor of the eminent statesmen who have been at the helm of the state since the accession of the late Maharaja Chamarendra Wodayar to the throne of Mysore more than thirty-five years ago. When the rendition of Mysore was brought about after nearly half-a-century of bureaucratic Anglo-Indian administration, it was not simply a few "departments" that were "transferred" to Indian administrators, but the whole. No doubt was felt whether the native ruler and his ministers or other heads of departments would prove equal to the task entrusted to them. The entire administration was transferred to Indian hands and things have gone on wonderfully well eversince. None of the troubles which distract the Anglo-Indian administrators or the people of British India have ever cast a shadow of disfigurement over the annals of steady progress which year after year the Indian administrators of Mysore have been able to present to the world. There have been no caste-squabbles, no non-Brahmin associations, no Nairisms, no Hindu-Moslem riots, no anarchist conspiracies or robberies, no revolutionary "Samities." no Swadesi or boycott movements, and no factious or partisan opposition and disturbance to trouble those entrusted with the carrying on of the administration. Here is the explanation of the persistent cry and aspiration for self-government which is being heard all over India,—of the insistent demand that a distinct step should be taken now which will lead to the granting of responsible government in full measure within a stated interval of time. The feeling is almost uuiversal that the British suzerainty must be confined to the administration of foreign affairs, of the army and navy, and of the general control and watch over affairs so that no serious mistake is made by the Indian Ministry. A Government like what America has conceded to the Philippine Islanders or even something more advanced has long been overdue here. There can be no doubt of the success of a large and liberal advance towards responsible government, if we take note of, and understand aright, the full significance of the success of Indian administration in Mysore and other Indian states.

Sir M. Visvesvarayya's administration of Mysore has been brilliantly successful during these several years past. From the beginning he has fully perceived that the developing of the material resources of his country is the prime necessity of its people. He claims and rightly, the credit of having "educated the people to the importance of economic development,"—that "the work of developing the material resources is making good progress." The work has taken various forms,—building new railways, extending hydro-electric works, constructing irrigation works, restoring and repairing minor tanks, utilising forest and mineral wealth, &c. Various other schemes are also under investigation and will be undertaken

by Government as soon as they are ripe. The Government has also spent two lakhs in what the Dewan calls "training people for economic work." The Dewan has therefore, every right to call on "the people themselves to attempt large scale production and start industries and manufactures on a co-operative or a joint-stock basis." We think that Mysore, under the guidance of its enlightened Dewan, is about to enter on a career of propriety resulting from the cheap supply of raw materials and the production of manufactured articles out of them through the adoption of improved methods and the employment of skilled and trained artisans. The Dewan feels sure that "it will not be difficult to double or even treble production within a decade and create the additional wealth which the country so sorely needs." The Dewan has especially had in view *schemes of organisation* for economic work, and he assures us that "a scheme to enlist the services of a large number of workers in the activities connected with education, agriculture, industries, and commerce has been sanctioned and is making fair progress." Progress Committees have been appointed for each unit area, and arrangements are about to be made for carrying on propaganda work through the agents of each such committee and also for ascertaining and supplying the wants of the population of each of such unit rural areas.

The Government of the Dewan has been mindful of the advantage arising from the better political and civic training of the people. Hence new powers have been conferred on the citizens of Mysore State in the constitution or re-constitution of the Representative Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the Economic Conference. The District and Taluk Conferences have been organised in order to educate the people in the duties of citizenship. Also a new local self-government scheme has been brought into operation, and Sir M. Visvesvarayya claims that it will "offer special opportunities of service to *large classes of the population.*"

Under the head of Finance, the Dewan says that a new Income-Tax is to be levied at the rate of 3 to 6 pies in the Rupee, only on non-agricultural incomes exceeding Rs. 1,200 per annum. The poor and middle classes are thus excluded from its operation. Three crores have been also spent on productive public works; and this policy will be continued in future "by raising loans, if necessary." Not only are loans to be raised on the credit of the Government by the State, but the credit of the Government is to be lent to enable local bodies, private syndicates, and corporations to obtain loans.

As regards Education, the University is being strengthened and developed, compulsory education is being provided for both boys and girls in a larger measure than before, sericulture and horticulture have been encouraged, the Sandal Oil Factories have been working well, an Iron Scheme has been taken up, and the co-operative movement has made a large and notable advance.

The Dewan made an interesting statement, giving instances of how the Mysore government has been attempting to raise the standards of progress among the people. One is an attempt to induce each family in every village to practise thrift and to lay by enough

food grains or money so that it may in times of deficient rainfall escape the risk and suffering of starvation. Another is to induce each family in the village to send a larger number of its boys to school, and to increase the number of its inmates who are to train themselves for, and get engaged in, industry. Here is a combination of parental, with modern, government which is specially suited to the simple temperament and tastes of a tropical people. The Dewan is also endeavouring to double the agricultural produce of the state in 10 years.

The Dewan's Government is also endeavouring to carry on work which he reckons as "civic and social," and distinct from what is ordinarily classed as administratic or economic. Its object is "to train the people to become good citizens and good members of society." It is proposed by means of a special organisation, to spread among the people of Mysore a knowledge of literature, art, culture, manners and morals, to inculcate habits of discipline and loyalty to the sovereign, love of country and spirit of service, to introduce reformed social customs, to elevate the backward and depressed classes, and generally to enable the people to imbibe the spirit of progress and attain to higher standards of capacity culture, and work.

The Mysore Government and the able Indian statesman at its head are clearly working for definite aims and for the rapid elevation of their state, and already in several directions they are in advance of British India. There is no heaven-sent bureaucracy, and no need for constant public agitation in order to induce it to attend to the interests of the people and the needs of progress. The Government and the people labour with one accord; and each recognises that, unless they advance together, it will be impossible for the people of Mysore to preserve themselves and prosper in the midst of the universal strife among the Communities of the world.

There is another portion of the Dewan's address before the representative assembly of Mysore which is worthy of notice on account of its great importance. Sir M. Visvesvarayya fully recognises that the interests and progress of Mysore are bound up with those of the continent of India as a whole, and desires that the state and people of Mysore should be directly represented in the Imperial Council of India. This is an important matter, and we propose to deal with it separately in a subsequent issue. We notice that the Dewan speaks cautiously and deals in vague generalities, instead of making any specific proposals. He asks for the representation of Mysore in the Council of the Gnvernment of India only in respect of "matters of common concern,"—*i. e.*, matters which affect the people of both Brltish India and the Native States. We think that there are many considerations which will stand in the way of the carrying out of proposal, and all these must be weighed carefully before any practical and workable scheme can be hit upon. We fear there are insuperable difficulties in the way, but they may be over come. It is necessary to deal with the matter

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calmly and from various points of view, in order to reconcile conflicting interests, and there is hardly any use in laying down vague general propositions and maxims or indulging in sentimental aspirations after a unity which it would be difficult to achieve in practice under the conditions of India today.

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## The Secessionist Conference.

It is a matter of deep regret and grave concern to us that a great leader and staunch patriot of India like Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee should have thought it necessary to secede from the Congress and even form a party of secessionists who are in future to take their own course apart from, and even in opposition to, the Congress. And, yet, there seems hardly to be any justifiable ground or necessity for all this trouble and ado. For, in his speech as President of the so-called Moderate Conference he said in reference to the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme of Indian reform:—" We press for modifications and expansion upon the lines of the Message of the 20th Aug. 1917. Specially, do we urge this view in connection with the Government of India." Had Mr. Bannerjee attended the Special Session of Congress recently held and expressed these views, he could have easily persuaded the Congress to stop at this point and not advanced further with those who are called *Extremists*, if any such exist in India or at least among the Indians. No one who relies upon constitutional and legal methods for the carrying out of his political aims can jnstly be called an extremist. It is only those who are prepared to bring about a revolution that can deserve to be denounced as Extremists. We regret that a man of Mr. Bannerjee's standing and reputation as an Indian statesman should have allowed himself the unrestrained *license* of using such an unparliamentary expression against those who recognised him as their leader till recently and with whose aims and Methods he has been well acquainted during a long course of years. Of course no one can say that he does not differ from those who still adhere to the Congress and wish to preserve it as our National institution for achieving our goal of self-Government within the Empire. Mr. Bannerjee himself states where he differs as follows:—"I will say this,—that, if unfortunately no advance is made, I trust this will not be case,—even then we shall be ready to accept the scheme as an improvement upon the existing state of things and an advance (it may be only a small advance) towards responsible Government." He says further:—"The Extremist leaders would reject the scheme unless the fundamental changes which they have suggested were embodied in the proposals." While we are prepared to say with Mr. Bannerjee that we, Indians, must accept whatever "improvement on the existing state of things" we can secure from our rulers—whether more or less than what the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme offers—as a concession for the present, we must continue our political agitation and the education and organisation thereby gained in the future. Moreover, Mr. Bannerjee and those whom he leads are strangely enough content to ignore the fact testified to by no less a man than Lord Morley that "no Indian was unfitted as such to fulfil the highest duties of citizenship and the highest responsibilities

of Government." If Congressmen are not prepared to accept the "advance" made by the Montagu-Chelmsford proposals—and even Mr, Bannerjee says that it is "*only a small advance*—it is because they realise the fact stated by Lord Morley (in the above quotation from one of his rcent utterences) far more vividly than Mr. Bannerjee and his party seem to do. No doubt, all will recognise the need of probation and training in the practice of the art of self-government. But we have had already a great deal of training and probation, though we *may* want more. But the *only* right way of training us further is to entrust us with the actual duties and responsibilities of self-government. Self-government is an organism, and cannot be divided, drawn, and quartered, as the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme proposes to do. Mr. Bannerjee speaks of "prolonged preparation and laborious apprenticeship." That we have had during the last half a century of co-operation with the Government and instruction in the science and art of government as carried on in the West. What is now wanted is a transfer of the government during a probationary period to Indians, and the offering of guidance through the Viceroy and the provincial satraps. The Viceroy and the Satraps will, of course, have the right, not only of offering advice to their Ministers, but also of vetoing, once at least or even more than once, the measures adopted by them with the consent and counsel of the Legislature. Why training and apprenticeship should be understood to mean that which is given piece-meal and in one department after another is what we do not perceive! We rather think that it is the most effective method of preventing the period of apprenticeship from yielding the fruit we seek from it. For, responsibility for government will be felt only when it is borne in full. It is hard to imagine such a thing as responsibility for a portion of the business of government, just as it is absurd to entrust the responsibility for the health of different limbs in the human frame to different physicians. What Congressists seek is responsibility for Indian government as a whole, subject to all the safeguards needed against errors or failures due to a noviciate and probation. Let the period during which the safeguards provided for exist and are actively exercised, be made as long as possible ; let the Viceroys and the Provincial Governors be entrusted with ample powers of amendment, alteration, veto, counsel, correction, suspension, dismissal of ministers, &c. But let the institution of self-government be set up once for all. The precautions and safeguards above-mentioned may be made to last till the British people and parliament are in a position to feel their confidence in the Indian people and their leaders in the measure which they deem adequate for the goal they have in view. Moreover it must be remembered that, in every department of the government and in the administration of the Indian empire or the provincial governments as a whole, not only Indians, but the British in India and the Anglo-Indian community, will always, work in co-operation and coalescence,—and thus the spirit of the administration will be modern and Western. Look for instance, at the adminstration of Mysore. Here is an object-lesson in

what India under self-government will be. Much nonsense is spoken as to the dangers likely to beset India when it is deprived of the benefits of what is called "British rule." The rule of India under a system of self-rule will be *British* quite as much as it is now—*British in aims and methods and to a fair extent also in personnel.* When we claim self-government, what we mean is that the interests of India should be the paramount consideration, subject, of course, to the unity and safety of the Empire of which we will ever remain a part. No one imagines or desires that the British element will be kept out of the personnel of the Indian administration, either as a whole or in any of its departments. The self-determination of India has no exclusive reference whatever to the question of personnel, but only to the aims and methods of its administration, as defined above.

It is a thousand pities that Mr. Bannarjee and his followers have failed to see that the concession of piecemeal self-government will always be a serious impediment to rapid progress towards the goal of self-government in full. After years of persistent agitation, and chiefly owing to the exigencies arising from the occurrence of a world-wide war on a scale unprecedented in human annals, we have had this providential dispensation and opportunity for making an advance in Indian government. We do not, and cannot, foresee the possibilities of the future,—the courses of public opinion in Great Britain and British dominions in times future,—the cross-currents and under-currents which might become formed and determine the aims and methods of public policy in regard to the relations of Great Britain towards its dominions or dependencies or both. Our present fortune is in our hands, and the opportunity is one which may not occur again. We think that Mr. Bannerjee and his associates are moved to take their present course by the fear and apprehension that even the offer now made under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme may, if it is rejected be with drawn. But, are they sure that this scheme at least is safe? It is the British Parliament that will have to judge what amount and kind of self-government should be given to India. No bill has yet been drafted for placing before Parliament when it next meets. When once the measure is before Parliament, it is then that we can know how Parliament will decide, and under what impulses or on what grounds? It is then, that we shall find what importance will attach to the voice of a United India. We do not care one jot about what Mr. Bannerjee calls the Centre Wing, or the Left Wing, of the Nationalist party in Iudia. What we want is that the voice of United India should go forth. Mr. Bannerjee, in spite of his great experience and unquestioned patriotism, is *not* working for the securing of the expression of the true spirit of India,—of all India,—in all its authoritative Unity and Concord. India disunited means India discredited, distrusted, depressed, degraded, and distressed.

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## Our Present Situation, Social and Religious

BY

**G. Ramachandra Aiyar B.A., B.L.**

Price per copy **As. 2** only.

## Notes and Comments.

The Hindus always settle the sources of knowledge, and then frame their doctrine accordingly. Of course, the methods of reasoning are used in order to settle the doctrine and give it exactitude. But the sources from which thay gather their knowledge are the Vedas and the Smritis. Hence, even when the Hindus differ in their interpretations of their sources of knowledge (or *pramanas*), their differences get restricted within a narrow range, for there is always available a reference to the genuine and sacred sources of their religion in order to test what is sound doctrine and what is not.—

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Such an advantage is not available to Mrs. Besant, who seeks to give spiritual instruction to her flock in South India and elsewhere. In her Weekly Supplement to the "New India" of the 19th October last, she speaks of "Man's life in three worlds," and says that man "lives *normally* in the heaven-world, consuming the food he had brought there, and then, when again hungry he plunges down through the air into the lake we call the physical world where he gathers his food, experience, &c." Men live as men here on earth, and there is not the slightest proof that *men* "live normally"—or even abnormally—elsewhere. When the jivas go elsewhere, they shed their human body, and so cannot be called *men*. If by *man* Mrs. Besant means *jiva*, then there is no need to say that he lives only in "three worlds" nor is there any proof that he lives "*normally*" in the heaven—world. He lives wherever Karma takes him, and so it is not right to say that he lives "*normally*" in the heaven-world.

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We are informed that Theosophical Society is interested in the matter (i.*e*., in what is called by a correspondent of *New* India, "the anti-touchability campaign") and through its Lodges has begun to express its opinion." How are untouchables to be lifted? The answer is,—touch them, and they will be saved. The Pulayas, Pariahs, &c., "should be allowed access to the houses of high-caste Hindus, with the ordinary hygienic restrictions, &c." Of course, theosophists and others who are so minded can touch the untouchables and give them access to their houses. But we think that this alone will not help to raise these people. Such measures are usually lumped together under the high-sounding name of "Social uplift." But what these classes or castes require is better dwellings, more work, and elementary knowledge. It is the economic condition that determines the fates of nations, societies, and social groups. The future not only of *untouchables*, but also of the touchables, in India will depend on their economic gains or losses. The Brahmins are finding it more and more difficult to adjust themselves to the present economic conditions, and so are losing touch with their ancient ideals and getting rapidly transformed. Our sages have predicted that Brahmins (and also Kshattriyas and Vaisyas) will die out of the land in course of time in the Kali-yuga. Already we see signs of the fulfilment of this prophesy. The reason is that the old economic *status* of the Brahmins is no longer available to them. They have to enter into competition with others, and this will in the end result in getting them transformed beyond all recognition,—even in destroying their existence as an integral part of Hindu or Indian Society. Similarly, a transformation or "uplift" of the "untouchables" can best be achieved by purely economic changes and agencies. We entirely agree with the following from *Capital*:— "Agriculture seems to offer the widest and most promising future to the man of no caste, if introduced under suitable conditions as have been found in Egypt for the past 40 years." But our wonderful reformers want "reform," not "a promising future," for these people. And why? Our readers ought to know.

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Prof. Ramanadha Aiyar is an educationist of experience, and so his words are sure to carry some weight. But we regret that he should have compared the ancient system of education with the modern to the disadvantage of the former. We think he has not gone fully into the subject, as he ought to have done. It is wrong to say

"that in the pathasalas more memorising was attended to." If "more" here is a *mistake* for "mere," the Professor's view will be even more mistaken. We trust that the report correctly represents him, though the sentence quoted is un-English and so could not have been spoken by the Professor. The Professor ought to have carefully distinguished between the aims of the two systems. The aim of the Indian system was *spiritual*, and the precepts of the Vedas had to be followed. The Indian system did not require the Brahmin student to get up everything by heart. The Vedas had to be got up by heart, for the Vedas themselves enjoined the frequent repetition of them as an acquisition tending to spiritual improvement up to a certain point. But the students were *also* required to know the meaning of what they studied. It is wrong also to say, as the Professor said, that "the weakest teacher in the modern system would compare favourably with the best specimens of the earlier schools." This is a gross exaggeration. The modern teacher certainly knows some things which may not be known to the teacher under the ancient system. But we can say with confidence that even the best modern teacher can never attain to the completeness of knowledge and the solidity and profundity of the best teacher under the ancient system. The ancient system is now in its decline,—in fact the decline is now fearfully rapid, and we cannot at all judge of the system as it was even 20 or 30 years ago from what remains of it. The late Mahamahopadhyaya Raju Sastriar was a very great teacher, and his students were several of them like himself great teachers and great scholars. The great merit of ancient system was the paying of serious attention to the capacities and requirements of each student, and this great merit can never belong to the modern system. The system now existing may be suited to these democratic days, but it cannot on on that account be over-estimated beyond its true worth. The ancient system had marked merit which entitle it to our respect, and under that system India produced some of the greatest ornaments of the human race. In fact their name is legion, India can always be proud of teachers like Badarayana, Sankaracharya, Ramanujacharya, Vachiaspati Suresvara, Amalanda, Appayya Dikshita, Vidyaranya, Vedanta Desika, &c. We do not think that any modern Indian teacher in this Presidency—not even the redoubtable Professor K. B. Ramanadha Aiyer—can compare as a teacher with these giants of former epochs of Indian culture. Even in the present time, we have had eminent Indian teachers like Raju Sastriar, Ramasubba Sastriar, &c., the products of the old system of training. The modern system of training has a very great value of its own, and it is best suited to this democratic age. But we have no hesitation in saying that it can never approach the ancient system in its individual attention to the requirements of each pupil in the perfection of the training and knowledge it imparted to the best minds which came under its influence and operation.

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We read in a Madras Anglo-Indian paper:—"A motorcar would be a luxury for a lawyer who peregrinates between his office and the Court, whereas, it is a necessity to a doctor who daily visits a score or so of patients far and near." So far as the doctor is concerned, there can be no quarrel. But the lawyer will demur to the statement that a motor-car is to him a luxury. In Madras, a lawyer without a motor-car hardly counts as one of the big guns, and a motor-car is one of the things indispensable for a rising lawyer. Without it, practice will go down to some extent at least, perhaps sensibly. Among an earlier generation of lawyers, an idea was once common that a lawyer without a couple of diamond ear-rings would not count. We are not sure that the present generation has out lived this idea. The motor-car, however now reigns supreme among a lawyer's necessary accessaries. It fills a large place even among other's equipments. Our Madras contemporary thinks first of the lawyers, because the Anglo-Indian is terribly in dread of the "Vakil Raj," otherwise called "the oligarchy of Brahmin lawyers."

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The same journal remarks in, the same issue :—"The actual birth does not count, the conditions surrounding one's advent into the world are the things that matter.' Against this we set forth Lord Beaconsfield's view :—"Progress and reaction are but words to mystify the millions. *All is race.*" Heredity and environment are both equally important factors in the determination of the facts and fortunes of men,—both nations and individuals. If "birth does not count"; why is the Anglo-Indian community whom our contemporary represents so much exercised about the predominance ; so called, of "the Brahmin oligarchy" in South India? The "conditions surrounding" men vary from time to time. It is the race-quality that helps in adjusting the individual and the conditions to each other. When race-quality fails, the conditions, rapidly overpower the community. Or, when a superior race enters the field, the conditions, though remaining the same, do not count. Of course, the conditions also help heredity and race-quality. But, Lord Beaconsfield spoke one of the greatest of all truths when he said that "all is race." Race is the element that counts in determining what men are and what is to be their destiny on earth. "Man is the architect of his own fortune", as the saying goes.

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## Olla Podrida.

What news shall I give my readers in this issue? I do not know. The world is getting dull, my masters. I shall yet give you some curious bits of news. In the issue of the *Madras Mail* dated 30-10-18 the Editor thinks that the attempt to uphold the Indian systems of medicine is a part of the Varnashrama Dharma movement which again is an attempt to maintain the Brahmin domination as against the lower classes. These three things have no more connection with each other than they have with the man in the moon. But nowadays people have rather the sense of importance than the importance of sense. The Ayurvedic system of medicine is as good in its way as the Western system is good in its way. It is as much a science as the latter. If you prefer to have it the other way the latter is as little of a science as the former. In any event the indigenous systems of medicine include also the unani system which has nothing to do with the Varnashrama Dharma. What has Ayurveda either to do with Varnashrama? No doubt the great text books of Ayurveda say that a life according to Dharma is a vital means of health. But that is not what the Editor has in his mind. He wants to kill the Ayurveda, and Varnashrama comes in as a handy weapon. What, again, has Varnashrama—to do with Brahmin domination? The four castes have no more gradations of greatness than the four quarters of the globe have. But what has truth to do with advocacy—and especially the advocacy of a bad cause?

* * *

A correspondent writing to the *New India* on 30-10-18 says that the Congress League has resolved to open Hindu temples to Panchamas and proceeds to demonstrate the wisdom of the resolution. I suppose that the C. L. will similarly arrange everything on the basis of reason. Will it kindly explain the reason for allotting an excessive percentage to Mahommedans in the matter of representation. The fact is that in matters social and political, the ideal of minimising friction and the considerations of expediency are more important than the dictates of abstract reason. Nobody will try to build new and great temples for Panchamas. But all will rush at the same gate and show their kinship of blood by spilling blood.

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It seems that in Detroit there is an electric automatic coin-testing machine, which tests 2,90,000 coins and more *per-diem*, picks out bad and battered coins and sorts, counts, rolls, and wraps the other coins. All this saves time—to do what?

* * *

Professor A. Keith said recently at the Scientific Products Exhibition that 13 persons out of 1,000 go up to the Universities for education in Germany, while 5 persons do so in England, and concludes :

"England, the wealthiest country in the world is the worst in her neglect of science." India! do not lose your immemorial and prescriptive right to the bottom place in the matter of education. Enter your caveat before Mr. Keith and retrieve your reputation.

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There is however one bit of reassuring news in matters educational. The consort of H. H. The Raja of Cochin has opened the Trichur Educational Exhibition.

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Mr. G. T. Necholas is reported to have said in his recent book: "If there is anything certain in his world it is the fact that today a nation can only be *victorious* if it concentrates all its strength upon the peaceful rivalries of life, and with that object endeavours to present the world with peace." What beautiful words? So efficiency in the peaceful rivalries of life is for the purpose of victory in the stormy rivalries death, and even in peace the rivalries must remain. The iron hand within the velvet of glove—that is the symbol of the modern Western civilisation.

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45,000 railwaymen are suffering from Influenza in Germany. That, I suppose, is the real reason for Germany's becoming a slow coach. In India influenza is here, there, and everywhere. Its power is so great that schools and courts have been closed in its hononr. By the bye is influenza derived from Influence? I am in the questioning mood this time.

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In the last week's correspondence the correspondent supports Sri Narayana Guru's (?) interpretation that the Gita stanza चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागशः is against "the hereditary and peculiar observance found in overtime." I suppose, that according to him caste will vary many times a day and will appear and disappear with change of professions and habits like the events in transformation scenes. That may be Sri Narayan Guru's view and the view of those who have dubbed him so. But we find ourselves unable to accept that it was Sri Narayana's view. The correspondent does not seem to like Scrutator's parenthetical inquiry but Scrutator is as much entitled to question the deservedness of the Guru's appellation as the correspondent is entitled to assert it.

SCRUTATOR.

## The Economic Aspect of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme.

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

### I

In the announcement of August 20th 1917, the goal of the political aspiration of India is declared to be the "progressive realisation of responsible Government." In the Montagu-Chelmsford reform scheme, it is further defined as a "Central Government increasingly representative of and responsible to the people." I take this to mean that the people would be given control over the finance and the executive side of the Government when they are adequately represented on the Legislative Councils; otherwise "responsible Government" would be quite meaningless.

As much would depend upon how matters shape themselves in the future, the august authors have not found it possible to state the amount of representation that would be needed for the control, and the limit of time within which it is likely to be achieved. In order to judge of the economic aspect of the scheme, however, it is essential that we should have some idea, however vague, of the time-limit.

There are some data which enable us to form such a rough idea indirectly. Almost ever since the establishment of British Rule, its exclusive policy in regard to the higher appointments has been protested against by various British administrators, and as long ago as 1833, a statute was passed which provided that no native of India "nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the said Government." The noble sentiment of this statute has been reiterated in official documents of which the most authoritative is the proclamation issued by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, in 1858 when she assumed the

direct Government of British India, Yet, it is only now that it is definitely stated by the illustrious authors, "that for all the public services for which there is recruitment in England open to Europeans and Indians alike," "a definite percentage of recruitment" is to be made in India. There is, I believe, at least one very important service—the Police—recruitment for which in England is not open to Indians. So it seems the higher grades of this department are not to be recruited in India at all. Besides, there is no idea given in regard to the Indian percentage of recruitment in services other than the Civil Service. Thirty-three per cent. of the posts in this service is to be recruited for in India now, and this percentege is to "be increased by 1½ per cent. annually until the periodic Commission is to be appointed which will examine the whole subject." As the present Indian percentage in the Indian Civil Service is only 8·5 per cent., this means that about 1931, when the first Parliamentary Commission is likely to meet, about 25½ per cent. of the Indian Civil Service will be composed of Indians, assuming the average annual vacancies to be 60. The percentage will be a little higher, probably 27, if we take into account the number of Indians who enter that service through open competition in England. This is all one can safely reckon upon at present, for the next Parliamentary Commission may find it expedient to reduce the percentage of Indian recruitment, or may even stop it for a while.

It should be observed, in passing, that this recruitment of 33 per cent. appears to have been grossly misunderstood in some quarters. Even a veteran Indian politician of forty years' experience is reported to have said at a recent meeting:

"Now mark the great advance that is made there. At the present moment we are about 10 per cent. of the entire Civil Service. (A voice, 8 per cent.) I stand corrected. I think it is 8 per cent. Now I ask you to mark the great advance that is made here. The report says that 33 per cent. of the appointments in higher Civil Service should be given to Indians (applause) immediately. From 8 per cent. to 33 per cent. is, you must all admit, a great leap in advance. Nor is this all. Every year there will be an increase of one-and-a-half per cent. So that in ten years this advance of 33 per cent. will mount unto no less than 48 per cent. (applause)."

The truth is, as we have stated above, that in ten years the percentage will be about 27. It may be noted that Indian recruitment similar to what is proposed by the august authors has been attempted before now. The most noteworthy of these attempts was the creation of the Statutory Civil Service. But they failed. The way in which the illustrious authors propose to remove one cause of the failure—the differential scale of pay—is ingenious. They think, quite rightly, that the "standard scales for all services should be fixed with reference to Indians recruited in India at rates sufficient to attract the best men available," But, "for persons recruited by reason of special qualifications obtained in Europe an extra allowance should be given to compensate them for the drawbacks and expenses of expatriation." It remains to be seen whether the extra allewance would not, in practice, be construed as higher pay, and whether the officers recruited in India would have the same status and enjoy the same opportunities of acquiring administrative experience as those recruited in England.

The authors rightly observe, that "it is a great weakness of public life in India to-day that it contains so few men who have found opportunity for practical experience of the problems of administration." They say further, that "it will henceforth be accepted as the duty of the European officers in the service of India to do all that lies in their power to fit Indians to take their places beside them." I am afraid, unless there is a sudden development of the altruistic sentiment to an enormous extent, of which there is no sign as yet, the majority of the European officers will find it extremely difficult to rid themselves of the bias of self-interest and of education and environment and fulfil the desire of the benevolent authors.

Now, as a preliminary step for the acquisition of administrative experience needed for Responsibie Government the higher services should be Indianised to the extent of at least 60 per cent. Considering the drawbacks and difficulties of the matter, and taking the most optimistic view possible, one could hardly expect the attainment of this percentage before the concluding quarter of

the current century, that is about a century-and-a-half from the date ot the Statute of 1833-

In regard to Responsible Representative Government in India such as is suggested by the august authors, the weight of authoritative opinion has hitherto been strongly against it. There are some Western thinkers who consider Representative Government to be a failure in the West.

"The professional politics of America," says Dr. Jacks, "are corrupt and debased to an extraordinary degree.........As things now are America is not a self-governing country except in name. The power behind the government is the political machine, which is controlled by the 'bosses' and has become a veritable tyranny. The machine is a contrivance of remarkable ingenuity which can only be compared with the inventions of Edison, and its object is simply that of depriving free men of free use of their votes. I came in contact everywhere with men who groan under its tyranny."

In Great Britain, Mr. H. G. Wells observes:

"We do not have any Elections any more: we have Rejections. What really happens at a general election is that the party organisation—obscure and secretive conclaves with entirely mysterious funds—appoint about twelve hundred men to be our rulers, and all that we, we so-called *self-governing* people, are permitted to do is, in a muddled angry way, to strike off the names of about half of these selected gentlemen." "It is pathetic, I think," says Mr. Balfour, "to hear that so many of the most earnest men in modern Europe regard the representative system as almost played out—perhaps I am putting that too strongly, but not, I think, much too strongly—and as fit now only for Turkey or China."

There are others who without committing themselves to any opinion about the success or failure of the Parliamentary system in the West consider it quite unsuitable for India. She has never had such a rare combination of culture, philosophy, experience and liberality in a Secretary of State as in Lord Morley. Yet he declared emphatically:

"If my existence, either officially or corporeally, were prolonged twenty times longer than either of them is likely to be, Parliamentary system in India is not the goal to which I, for one moment, would aspire."

"Is it conceivable," asks Lord Crew, "that any time an Indian Empire could exist on the lines of Australia and New Zealand, with no British officials and troops, no tie of creed or of blood replacing those material bonds?" "In India," says Lord Sydenham, "constitution-making is not studied, and I have been sometimes surprised to see colonial self-governmet advocated as a simple and natural development capable of early realization. I wonder if those who hold these views have any idea of what colonial self-government means."

Now, if going with the current of authoritative opinion it takes the Indians at least a century-and-a-half to obtain a reasonable share in the administration, how long would it take them to attain the goal of self-government going against such opinion? Taking the most favourable view of the matter and assuming a change in the current in the near future, I do not think it can possibly take less than two centuries, which gives us the minimum time-limit.

This conjectural conclusion is confirmed by an important consideration. Whatever the form of Government, whether representative or not, whether monarchical or republican, there can be no really responsible Government unless the people have a certain amount of fighting capacity. The development of this capacity is needed not only to resist foreign aggression, but also to extort rights, and to prevent any one section of the community from becoming too powerful. While human nature continues to be what it is, physical force, or at least the show of it, wlll remain a very important factor of politics, perhaps more important than representation. The English people are fairly well represented on their Government. Yet even the cultured ladies of England had recourse to physical force—nay to even brutal methods—to wrest what they consider to be their rights from Government.

Now our people owing to the Arms Act and various other causes have to a great extent lost the fighting capacity, and it is now confined to certain small sections of the community. Its restoration is necessary for Indian autonomy. But the august authors havn not made any provision for adequate military training. The solution of the military problem is likely to take a long time.

To those Indian political leaders who want to expedite the consummation of Indian autonomy, the next periodic Parliamentary Commission might very plausibly urge, that they must see that the people are properly represented before they could recommend it, for otherwise it would be the substitution of one oligarchy by another; that the proportion of representation which obtains in the United Kingdom should be taken as the requisite minimum; that there nearly a fifth of the population are qualified electors; and that India must wait until she could furnish the same proportions of eligible voters.

The Commission might further urge, addressing our political leaders:

"It is a well-known fact that your people are not generally imbued with the Western political spirit. It is confined to a very small section of them who are educated on Western lines; and unless election is to be a monumental sham, it would be extremely difficult to get together two million qualified voters at the outside now, that is to say about one-seventieth of the total population, for the whole of British India. This is the result of a century or so of English education. Making allowance for the fact that it is spreading much more rapidly now, it would take at least eight centuries to raise the proportion to that of the United Kingdom."

This gives us some idea, though extremely vague, of the maximum limit of time.

I venture to think, that before starting the Indian people on such a long, and, as we shall see later on, such a costly pilgrimage to the shrine of self-government, the august authors of the Reform Scheme should have made a searching inquiry in to their economic condition to see whether they could stand the journey, whether very large numbers of them might not perish of starvation on the way. Such an inquiry does not appear to have ever been made, or if it has been made, the results have not been published. The complaint of Sir Louis Mallet (who was for a long time Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India) that "if there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts," and that he "found a strong repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well digested set of facts" still holds true. Even such facts as are in the possession of Government they appear to be unwilling to make public. In 1876, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji made some elaborate calculations from which he deduced the annual average income of an Indian to be only Rs. 20. In 1882, Lord Cromer calculated that income to be Rs. 27 from data collected in a minute by Sir D. Barbour. Mr. Naoroji after repeated attempts failed to secure the publication of the data. The average annual income which Lord Cromer allows the people of India is small enough. But it is curious that a civilized and highly expensive Government—probably the most expensive in the world considering especially the material condition of the people—should not possess or publish reliable well digested data for judging accurately whether that income had been larger or smaller before 1880, or whether it has been increasing or diminishing since. Yet, it is certainly very important that we should know this. For if the impoverishment of the Indian people which has been noted by various observers, English as well as Indian, almost ever since the establishment of British Rule is still going on—and there are experienced well-informed authorities who are of the opinion that it is—an immediate measure for relieving the stringency of the economic situation is imperative, and not a constitutional reform realisable in the remotest future.

The economic condition ofthe people is the crux of Indian politics. Those of my Neo-Indian brethren who are striving for the control of the Government are actuated by various motives. I have no doubt that some are influenced by ambition, greed, or vanity. But I have also no doubt there are some who are actuated by selfless benevolence. They are so deeply impressed by the impoverishment of the multitude, that they wish to have the necessary power soon to better their condition. I must say, their ideas as to how this is to be done are at present of a most nebulous character. But there is no question of their goodness and sincerity.

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## Gleanings.

### Vernaculars for the M.A. Degree.

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[The following letter was written by Sir Rabindranath Tagore to a correspondent, and is published with the latter's permission Ed., *M.R.*]

It is needless to say that it has given me great delight to learn of Sir Ashutosh's proposal for introducing Indian vernaculars in the university for the M.A. But at the same time I must frankly admit the misgivings I feel owing to my natural distrust of the spirit of teaching that dominates our university education. Vernacular literature, at least in Bengal, has flourished in spite of its being ignored by the higher branches of our educational organisation. It carried no prospect of reward for its votaries from the Government, nor, in its first stages, any acknowledgment even from our own people. This neglect has been a blessing in disguise, for thus our language and literature have had the opportunity of natural growth, unhampered by worldy temptation, or imposition of outside authority. Our literary language is still in a fluid stage, it is continually trying to adapt itself to new accessions of thought and emotion and to the constant progress in our national life. Necessarily the changes in our life and ideas are more rapid than they are in the countries whose influences are contributing to build the modern epoch of our renaissance. And, therefore, our language, the principal instrument for shaping and storing our ideals, should be allowed to remain much more plastic than it need be in the future when standards have already been formed which can afford a surer basis for our progress.

But I have found that the direct influence which the Calcutta University wields over our language is not strengthening and vitalising, but pedantic and narrow. It tries to perpetuate the anachronism of preserving the Pundit-made Bengali swathed in grammar-wrappings borrowed from a dead language. It is every day becoming a more formidable obstacle in the way of our boys' acquiring that mastery of their mother tongue which is of life and literature. The artificial language of a learned mediocrity, inert and formal, ponderous and didactic, devoid of the least breath of creative vitality, is forced upon our boys at the most receptive period of their life. I know this, because I have to connive, myself, at a kind of intellectual infanticide when my own students try to drown the natural spontaneity of their expression under some stagnant formalism. It is the old man of the sea, keeping his fatal hold upon the youth of our country. And this makes me apprehensive lest the stamping of death's seal upon our living language should be performed on a magnified scale by our university as its final act of tyranny at the last hour of its direct authority.

In the modern European universities the medium of instruction being the vernacular, the students in receiving, recording and communicating their lessons perpetually come into intimate touch with it, making its acquanitance where it is not slavishly domineered over by one particular sect of academicians. The personalities of various authors, the individualities of their styles, the revelation of the living power of their language are constantly and closely brought to their minds—and therefore all that they need for their final degrees is a knowledge of the history and morphology of their mother-tongues. But our students have not the same opportunity, excepting in their private studies and according to their private tastes. And therefore their minds are more liable to come under the influence of some inflexible standard of language manufactured by pedagogues and not given birth to by the genius of artists. I assert once again that those who, from their position of authority, have the power and the wish to help our language in the unfolding of its possibilities, must know that in its present stage freedom of movement is of more vital necessity than fixedness of forms.

Being an outsider I feel reluctant to make any suggestions, knowing that they may prove unpractical. But as that will not cause an additional injury to my reputation, I make bold to offer you at least one suggestion. The candidates for the M. A. degree in the vernaculars should not be compelled to attend classes, because in the first place, that would be an insuperable obstacle to a great number of students, including ladies who have entered the married state; secondly the facility of studying Bengali under the most favorable conditions cannot

be limited to one particular institution, and the research work which should comprehend different dialects and folk literature can best be carried out outside the class; and lastly, if such freedom be given to the students, the danger of imposing upon their minds the dead uniformity of some artificial standard will be obviated. For the same reason, the university should not make any attempt, by prescribing definite text-books, to impose or even authoritatively suggest any particular line of thought to the students, leaving each to take up the study of any prescribed subject,—grammar, philology, or whatever it may be, along the line best suited to his individual temperament, judging of the result according to the quantity of conscientious work done and the quality of the thought-processes employed.

*Modern Review.*

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## The Inter-Caste Marriage Bill.

A NOTE BY B. RAMESVARA IYAR, B.A.

The Hon. Mr. V. J. Patel's attempt to reform Hindu Society by a stroke of the pen is fraught with grave danger to that society. Readers of the lumionous articles of the Hindu Message need no reminder to bring home to their minds the vital truth that the social structure of the Hindus is indissolubly connected with the Hindu religion which scarcely lays much store by the pleasures which the satisfaction of the lower success is expected to afford to the human beiug. The Hindu ideal of matrimony is quite different from the ideals which assign to the marriage no higher sanctity than that of a pure civil contract enforcible by man-made laws. The purity and the integrity of the different strata of Hindu Society depend upon the married couple being selected from the particular stratum whose members possess more or less the same degree of intellectual and spiritual culture, as the result of evolution, by successive births according to the Hindu belief and the smrithis and the ordinances as well as the acharas which obtain among the Hindus have duly recognised the importance of this truth. Men like Messrs. Bhupendranath Basu, and V. J. Patel do not seem to attach much weight to the importance of this aspect of the question. They seem to live and move and have thin being in the purely material world whose real betterment, which they undoubtedly have much at heart, can only be really ensured if it could be made to rest on a really religious basis. The momentary pleasure enjoyed by the senses by one cohabiting with an other of an unequal intellectual and spiritual culture can scarcely be said to confer lasting benefit to either of the parties. On the other hand the effects of such a step are bound to manifest themselves insidiously in the deterioration of the superior nature without improving the inferior one for the obvious reason that development is an uphold work—requriring hard and earnest endeavour while degradation is an exceedingly easy process. The jealous guarding of the racial purity and the maintenance of the high spiritual ideals of the Hindus is a far higher consideration than the creating of facilities to erratic pairs to live as man and wife and the attempt to sacrifice the former consideration for the creation of the aforesaid facilities is one which cannot commend itself to a true-born Hindu. Ample Scope being already available for renegades to act as they please in these respects, I would deprecate any fresh attempt at a further undesirable expansion of the existing chaotic state by a mischievous piece of legislation.

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## The Week.

India's share in bringing about the surrender of Turkey is fully recognised here. For example, the *Daily Chronicle* says:—We ought not to forget the very great part which India played in this achievement. It would hardly be too much to say of the later stages that British India has conquered Turkey.

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We are glad to learn that Lokamanya Tilak and party reached London on 30th October, all enjoying good health. Barrister Baptista received the party at London.

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The Commons has passed the second reading of the Bill enabling women to become Members of Parliament without any age qualification.

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